

INTRODUCTION

keynote speech that he expected a full Communist revolution, although the East had not passed through the stage of capitalism. "From the moment when a single country managed to throw off the chains of capitalism, . . . China, India, Turkey, Persia, Armenia also can and must make a direct struggle to obtain a Soviet system." x

Revolutionary action, according to Zinoviev, was to be conducted on two fronts simultaneously. First, an unrelenting struggle was to be waged against foreign imperialists. Secondly, Communists were to "educate the laboring masses of the East to hatred . . . of wealthy classes, no matter whether they be Russians, Jews, Germans, or Frenchmen."

Zinoviev concluded with a dramatic appeal: "Comrades, you have heard much during the last few years of a Holy War. . . . But you who have met for the first time in a Congress of the Peoples of the East must here and now declare a true Holy War against the English and French robber-capitalist."

On the second day the Chairman gave the floor to Radek. In a speech that was a mixture of academic erudition and revolutionary dynamism, Radek underlined the social character of the expected oriental revolution as well as the role Russian aid was to play in it. He first attacked the native exploiters: "Sultan's clique, all sorts of Shahs, Emirs, and Khans." Then he defined the role of Russia as a nerve center and arsenal of the revolution. Said he:

No enemy will be dreadful to you, nobody will stop the stream of workers and peasants of Persia, Turkey, and India, if they unite with Soviet Russia. Soviet Russia was encircled by enemies, but now she can produce weapons

with which she will arm the Indians, the Persian and Anatolian peasants, all oppressed, and will lead them to common struggle and to common victory.

Radek adhered strictly to the Leninist line that proclaimed the inevitable clash of the Communist and capitalist systems. "There can be no permanent peace," he said, "between the countries of labor and

i This and the subsequent quotations in this section are taken from the stenographic record of the First Congress of the Peoples of the East. In Russian: *Komunisticheskiiy Internatsional i Osvobozhdenie Vostoka-Piervyi Zvezd Narodov Vostoka 1920. Baku x-8 Sept. 1920. Stenograficheskiye Otchety.* (Zdatielstvo Kom-munisticheskovo Internatsionala, Petrograd, Smolnyi, 63. 1920.)

[7]